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ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNITY GROUPS IN SUPPORT OF THE PLANNING PROCESS AND CODE ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION

Robert E. Knittel

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1970

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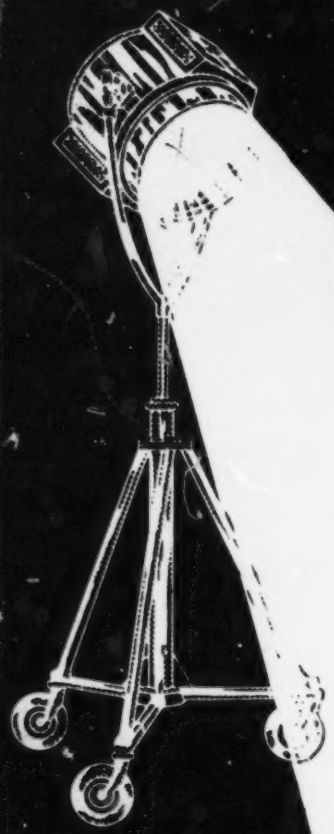

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Public Health Service
Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service
Environmental Control Administration

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Robert E. Knittel, Ph. D.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Public Health Service
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Environmental Control Administration
Bureau of Community Environmental Management
1970

Environmental Health Service Series on
Community Organization Techniques

I. Organization of Community Groups in Support of the Planning Process and Code Enforcement Administration

II. Identification of Leaders, and Their Involvement in the Planning Process

III. They Do A Job No One Else Can Do: *The Health Educator Aide Program for Improving Environmental Health Conditions in the Inner City*

Public Health Service Publication No. 1997

FOREWORD

The following monograph, written by Dr. Robert E. Knittel in fulfillment of contract no. PH 86-67-173, is the first in a continuing series of publications on Community Organization Techniques for Community Environmental Management published by the Bureau of Community Environmental Management of the Environmental Control Administration. The second publication is Dr. Harold L. Nix's monograph on *Identification of Leaders and Their Involvement in the Planning Process.* Although the illustrative material in this series originally grew out of work of the Office of Urban Environmental Health Planning, the need for material such as this to guide local public and private health agency administrators has become evident not only in the field of community environmental management but also in the areas of personal health services and mental health; the reader dealing with problems of these areas can easily recognize the situations in his work to which these community organization strategies may apply.

Participation of citizens is needed in community environmental management for educating not only the local officials about the needs and wishes of the people, but also the people about the facts that must be seriously considered and the opportunities that may be available through environmental improvement. Participation is also needed in order that the best energy of leading citizens may be brought to focus effectively upon relevant problems and in order that plans can be modified in the light of these leaders' knowledge of what can be achieved. It is further needed in order that neighbors in the residential environment may work through some of the problems about which they are concerned, get rid of their wishful thinking and dreams, and, cooperatively with officials, make plans that have economic and social

realism. The organizing of citizens should combine all these characteristics and have all these objectives.

From the administrator's standpoint, the basic test of sound community organization for environmental health is to be found in an atmosphere that allows the carrying out of the final official plans. Such a climate grows out of two-way communication with the residents by the officials directing the community environmental management programs. The officials' studies may assure them a particular program is feasible for a given area, but they must gain a like confidence from the residents and local businessmen if they want a green light. By the time the officials charged, for example, with execution of plans appear on the scene to enforce codes of housing standards or to install added community facilities for exercise and for relief of mental tension in play and rest, the citizens can have become so educated about their share in the program that they will undertake their part with a minimum of enforcement-type actions being necessary. The process may be long but need be no longer than the months consumed preparing other official data required for the project's approval. The configuration may vary from one situation to another. The impulse for a start in an area may come sometimes from the city, sometimes from the local businessmen and other leading citizens, and sometimes from some group of residents.

Whoever makes the start, it is the residents who must ultimately assume responsibility in many environmental health programs. To be sure, they need the experts for weighing the economic factors and reviewing all the alternative solutions to the many problems that arise. But after the experts and officials have passed from the scene and gone to attend to other sections of the city, it is the neighbors who continue to live in the area. Theirs are the attitudes that will decide whether the cooperative work and investment of the private owners and the city will be used and maintained so that a lapse into neighborhood decay and its accompanying personal frustrations can be prevented. Hence, it can be a continuing concern of

administration to keep the consultation of community organizations available to both neighborhood and community-wide groups.

Those who experience difficulties and disappointments in living in big cities often blame them on the impersonal character of modern urban life. The discontented individual or family seeks relief by fleeing to the smaller, less densely populated suburbs. The city official, despairing because of the apathy and indifference of those he tries to serve and guide toward wholesome city living, blames the failure of his programs to gain support and operate as he had planned upon this presumed impersonal character. The simple citizen and the professional official, when referring to the impersonal aspect of city life, each means the inability of the other citizens and interest groups to communicate with him and his inability to communicate with them. Urban life becomes confused or meaningless only to the extent that communication within a community fails to be as full as is necessary to handle the community's business to the satisfaction of all who live and work in it.

One of the difficulties in gaining environmental improvement of our cities lies in the fact that, for both the official administrator and the resident, there seems to be a failure to achieve communication sufficient to reasure them that community environmental control can in proper situations be made a reality. The official needs to know how he can reach an understanding of and with the citizen for this broad objective. The citizen needs to know how he and his fellow citizens can gain the professional services of the official in remaking their section of the city according to what they would like it to be. This report is written to meet the needs of both groups, the administrators and the residents.

Community organization or community development "may provide greater energy or enthusiasm than can be mobilized from any other source for the solution of the economic and social problems of the masses of the people." Community organization harnesses spare-time energies and focuses them on solutions of mutual problems involving ways and standards of living.

Although the following report uses residential environmental code enforcement as a program for illustrative purposes, the community environment management administrator can easily recognize the application of the techniques and the strategies that are suited to his other programs. The case material used was chosen because it allowed description of community organization work at all levels from the neighborhood to the whole metropolitan area. → p vii

This first publication in the series on Community Organization Techniques has been designed to introduce the concept to the administrator and give him and his professional consultants an idea of the range of activities in which community organization efforts will be helpful. Succeeding publications in this series will deal with specific techniques and strategies that will have been tested and found useful for community environmental management.

Robert E. Novick, Director
Bureau of Community Environmental
Management

PREFACE

This manual was written to give government program administrators a basic understanding of community organizations: their types, dynamics, organization, and leadership, and the part they play in community conflicts.

The need for this manual arose from two sources. One is the growing number of governmental programs requiring the participation of citizen groups in their operation. The other is the growing number of administrators who recognize the value of citizens' participation in the operation of their programs.

This manual will give the harried administrator, who may have no community organization experience either official or voluntary and who has little time to learn about these organizations, some background information and reference points that will be useful in efficiently conducting this part of his program.

This is not a "how to" book on community organization. Hopefully, the administrator will have access to a professional community organizer who, as a consultant or staff member, will answer his questions about "how to do it."

In presenting a brief and concise overview of community organizations, I risk oversimplifying a complex subject. To reduce this risk, reference is made to more detailed works that will give the reader a deeper understanding of particular topics.

The last part of the manual deals with the relations between an administrator and his community organization specialists. Little information on this relationship has been published in the United States.

It is my hope that this manual will contribute to the reader's understanding of an area of American life that, though extremely complex and little studied, is of growing importance and utility.

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I. RECENT HISTORY OF COMMUNITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the 1920's and the early 1930's, community organizations were formed in cities for the purpose of neighborhood or community maintenance. These groups were homogeneous: people of similar ideas and with similar purposes met together to maintain their neighborhood and their property values. This type of community organization was in the American tradition of citizen, or volunteer groups' banding together for a common goal, a tradition whose prevalence was noted with wonderment by de Tocqueville as early as 1840. Such neighborhood organizations were also fostered by settlement houses, among either tenants or owners, from the 1890's on. The community organizations of the 1920's and 1930's were primarily interested in preserving the existing shared cultural values of property maintenance, of ideal characteristics of neighbors (the things that made them desirable or undesirable), and of ideal environmental patterns for their neighborhood. Since the groups were usually composed of property owners, they very often included the words ''improvement association'' or ''property owners' association'' in their names. The ''automatic homes associations'' of suburban developments from World War I to the present are a special type based on legal powers contained in bylaws or covenants in the deeds running with the land and include all owners in a specified area.[1]

During the same period, the United States experienced the rise of city planning as a municipal government activity, with the accompanying conceptualization of ''model cities'' such as the greenbelt Towns. The

idea that people could determine their environment through proper planning and legal as well as voluntary controls was gaining prominence. Consequently, citizens began meeting in small groups to determine how to maintain their immediate environment, that of their homes and neighborhoods, in a manner that they felt to be close to their commonly shared ideal.[2]

These organizations arose when government exercised few controls over environmental conditions. The citizens' response to their desire to preserve the ideal environment followed in the tradition of the American volunteer group dedicated to a particular goal, the preservation of the environment and the economic value of individually owned property. Their involvement with government, even at the local level, was minimal.

Several things happened in the late 1930's and early 1940's that stepped up local government interest in the neighborhood as a social and geographic unit for physical rehabilitation of the city. The public housing program that started in the late 1930's as a response to the Depression brought an increased awareness of the problem of housing and slums and a focus by the cities on Federal assistance in dealing with the problem. In 1939, the American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing issued the "Basic Principles of Healthful Housing." By 1945, a scale for measuring the deterioration of housing was developed from these principles, and a reliable rating scale for determining whether an area was dilapidated—should be torn down—or deteriorated—could be rehabilitated—was developed. This committee also produced in 1952 a model housing code, adopted by some cities, that applied to occupied housing of all kinds. Although the public housing legislation of the late 1930's required the demolition of slum dwellings equal to the number of new public housing units built, there was no widespread demolition of slums.

During World War II, the city of Cleveland produced a brochure outlining the methods to be used for citizen-government cooperation for the improvement of

neighborhoods. Although the plan was never implemented in Cleveland, it was a forerunner of types of programs for neighborhood rehabilitation undertaken by cities, including St. Louis and Detroit, when efforts by local urban governments to enlist citizens' support for improvement of neighborhoods began in earnest after the war.

By 1949 Congress, convinced of the need to eliminate slums, passed redevelopment legislation whereby areas declared slums or ''blighted'' could be purchased, cleared, and then sold to a private developer who received tax advantages for developing the former slum area. Some small and scattered areas were rebuilt under this legislation. The pace of redevelopment quickened when enabling legislation at the state level gave cities the power to use federal grants for slum clearance. Large areas of big cities were soon marked for demolition.

Although local governments had voluntarily enlisted neighborhood improvement organizations as supporters of local housing and neighborhood rehabilitation programs, the Federal government now required the formation of a representative ''citizens' committee'' with powers to approve or disapprove slum clearance projects. These ''representative'' groups consisted of people from the clergy, education, business, industry, unions, real estate, construction, and other related interest groups. Since the group was usually appointed by the Mayor, it was often known as the Mayor's Citizen Committee. Frequently they were ''rubber stamp'' groups, representing no one, established to fulfill the letter of the law. The dilapidated slum areas they approved for demolition, on recommendation of the local Land Clearance Authority, were often predominantly Negro areas, a situation that led some to view urban renewal as ''Negro Removal.''

Meanwhile, some local municipal governments were pushing their own programs of rehabilitation in an effort to prevent slums. One of the earliest programs of this type was in St. Louis. There the effort was centered on neighborhoods: rehabilitation was accomplished by encouraging local residents to improve

their property. This effort was backed by the firm enforcement of minimum standards for occupied housing in each neighborhood and by the combined efforts of city officials and the local neighborhood improvement organization to bring about improvements ranging all the way from tree trimming to renovating the local park. The city officials used the existing neighborhood organization, if one existed; if not, the officials assisted residents in creating an organization. At monthly meetings, the steps in the neighborhood rehabilitation program were explained and neighborhood needs discussed. Neighborhood residents were able to talk with city officials in their "own back yards," an experience often as new to the city officials as to the citizens.

Realization of the need for conservation, the idea that community resources such as housing should be conserved and not allowed to deteriorate, also permeated government thinking at the Federal level. The Housing Act of 1954 authorized an ambitious program for mixed rehabilitation of existing housing and slum clearance that was intended to deal most effectively with the problem of preventing slums as well as eliminating slums. A community, in order to be eligible for Federal funds, had to prepare a seven-point "workable program," which included items such as housing code adoption and enforcement and "citizen participation." To date, in implementing the act, officials have emphasized slum clearance rather than rehabilitation and code enforcement rather than "citizen participation."

The combination of Federal emphasis on citizens' participation, local use of citizen groups, and widespread use of the demolition provision of the Housing Act forced existing groups to change emphasis and direction and created new groups at both the neighborhood and citywide levels. These new groups, born of Federal or local programs, were intended by their progenitors to be implementors of these programs. One of the better known neighborhood groups to emerge in the 1950's was the Hyde Park-Kenwood association in Chicago. Beginning with discussion groups led by

Herbert Thelein, a professor from the University of Chicago, the Hyde Park-Kenwood group eventually became one of the most outstanding neighborhood associations in the United States. Through its leadership and resources it was possible to use both state and Federal legislation for the rehabilitation and conservation of the area, and it became a model that many cities tried to imitate.

II. TYPES OF COMMUNITY GROUPS

Although many types of community groups exist, few of them often participate in community action. The specialist considers a *''community organization''* one whose primary concern is the betterment or overall well-being of the community. Sometimes the term ''civic organization'' is used. Whether it is concerned principally with health, housing, or planning, a ''community organization'' is often thought of as a ''citizen group.'' Chambers of commerce, composed chiefly of members of business and industry and supported by their contributions, are not considered ''community organizations'' in the strict sense of the word. Although they are dedicated to the betterment of the whole community, their emphasis is usually on procurement of business and industry. Other special-purpose community groups that sometimes get involved in community affairs are the social and fraternal groups, such as the Lions, Elks, and Rotary clubs, and the religious groups, usually associated with particular local churches. Other civic groups are organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the Kiwanis clubs. Additional special-purpose groups of all kinds are occasionally enlisted in civic enterprises. These range all the way from the Amateur Astronomers' Society to the Women's Pinochle Club. These two organizations, incidentally, have been used effectively in civic enterprises; the former in the promotion of a bond issue for a planetarium and the latter in a telephone campaign to get out the vote for an urban renewal bond issue.

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Many community organizations, when asked what their purposes are, do not stress the civic aspect, though they indicate that they cooperate in civic campaigns and enterprises of various kinds. This is one of the important aspects of such organizations. Although each organization may have only one important civic project, such as services to the crippled or the blind, or baseball for the boys, they all represent a reservoir of potential support or dissent on civic issues. If interest in a particular issue is great enough, they may even represent an active force in that issue.

Other special-interest organizations with a community focus, even though they are not community organizations in the sense previously stated, can also be powerful forces on particular issues. This category includes local unions, teachers' organizations, county medical sócieties, any many other special-interest groups, some of which may be only social. Groups organized primarily for social purposes may shift their emphasis or create a new emphasis under the pressure of particular issues. Such pressure is often exerted by colleagues, friends, or other groups.

Groups devoted to community problems are easily identified. They tend to be associated with issues and with both the giving and acquiring of information. Their names are often found in newspapers; their officers are usually well known to public officials. Such groups may function on several levels: (A) neighborhood organization, (B) citywide organization, (C) metropolitan district or regional organization. They may also focus their activities on particular subject areas such as housing, planning, health, and welfare. While each one of these organizations has its own focus and scope, they tend to overlap.

A. *Neighborhood organizations* vary greatly in size. These are often general-purpose organizations not devoted to any particular subjects other than those pertinent to the preservation and improvement of the neighborhood. Housing and planning are two interests of groups such as these. Although their interests tend to be limited to the neighborhood in which they are located, at times various neighborhood organizations have banded together to promote legislation, code

enforcement, and planning. Sometimes an individual organization supports or initiates, at the city or state level, legislation that helps it solve a problem in its own neighborhood.

Neighborhood organizations can be started by almost anyone, but they are usually initiated by interested property owners who live in the neighborhood or, sometimes, by property owners or businessmen who live outside the neighborhood. The nucleus of the group is usually composed of a neighborhood's businessmen, clergymen, educators, or other professional people. Neighborhood business people often avoid holding office in these organizations, because a group's stand on controversial issues may alienate their customers. Businessmen prefer to use their influence and prestige as individual members rather than as officers. In neighborhoods where particularly prestigious individuals reside, the influence of neighborhood organizations may be very great. In neighborhoods of lower status residents, neighborhood organizations may also be very effective, if good organization and procedural techniques are used.

The majority of neighborhood organizations, however, are rather ineffectual in dealing with local matters, either at the neighborhood or the citywide level, unless they have the sanction of the local government. Even so, they provide an important communications link between the neighborhood and city and other government officials; thus, they provide a means by which government officials can be informed of situations needing immediate attention. An organization's influence in setting standards of behavior in the neighborhood can be great through both the example and the prestige of the individual members.

Neighborhood organizations are very often difficult to maintain. Although these groups do not require a large financial base, maintaining even the small cash fund needed for postage, stationery, and minor expenses is often a problem. Contributions from members finance most operations. Consistent with the democratic, nonpartisan nature of these organizations, they are not indebted to any one individual or busi-

ness for support. These individual contributions can be maintained as long as members retain interest. Evidence indicates that people participate most when the association does not have a large salaried staff.[3]

Usually, the interest of members is short lived, since it is focused on one particular neighborhood issue. Even though individuals may have membership without attending meetings, these memberships are difficult to sustain and often require periodic collection drives. Donations from local businessmen sometimes form the group's financial base. These donations are generally uncertain since the businessmen are flooded with competing requests for funds from various organizations and causes. Unless the businessmen are particularly interested in the organization, their donations often fall off quickly.

Despite financial problems, many of these organizations manage to continue for a long time. This is usually the result of good management. If neighborhood groups themselves contribute funds to various neighborhood activities and things of this sort, their funds can be depleted rapidly. Such liberal use of organization funds occurs because the neighborhood organization lacks clear direction, purpose, and function. Some organizations take on more than they can handle. Other organizations, however, realizing full well the burden they are assuming, take on new activities only after having planned thoroughly how the burden will be carried.

B. *Citywide organizations* represent a more heterogeneous grouping and are capable of obtaining adequate financing. A citywide group usually contains representational membership; that is, its members represent various organizations. The citywide group often has among its membership officers and directors who are well known in the community for their civic interest and responsibility. The citywide organizations are more likely to represent a power-elite grouping that serves as intermediary between local government and local citizens than to function as representatives of individual neighborhoods. They are particularly "effective" in promoting and encouraging citywide

programs that attempt to solve urban problems. They may also support neighborhood groups in particular issues, if the wishes of the neighborhood groups happen to coincide with the particular direction and intention of the citywide group.

Their major weakness is that they seldom consider the needs and intentions of the neighborhood group. They ignore a neighborhood group whose needs and purposes do not coincide with those of the citywide group. At times, citywide groups have been used by both city governments and power elites to frustrate the wishes and desires of people at the neighborhood level. This has been particularly true for Federal government programs implemented at the city level, such as urban renewal and planning.

One of the major functional problems of citywide groups is their size: they are either too small and, consequently, not representative, or they attempt to be representative and are too large to be effective. Very often the people interested in forming and maintaining a citywide group feel that they can operate best with a small group of dedicated and active people. This is true, but the group will not represent large segments of the city and cannot be as responsive to diverse citywide needs as a larger, more representative group might be. Even though the large citywide group may tend to be less efficient and, perhaps, less productive, the purposes of the city and of the neighborhoods as a whole may be better served by the larger group.

C. *Metropolitan and regional groups* have gained prominence in response to the problems of growing metropolitan areas and to the availability of Federal funds to coordinate activities in the fields of transportation and regional economic development.

Multicounty planning commissions, in planning for regions, use as the unit of organization not only the counties but often communities in the counties as well. Economic development districts tend to focus on the region as a whole while considering one particular community as a ''growth center.'' Other regional organizations may be composed of representatives of

communities. One such group in Illinois is the Sangamon County Federation of Community Committees, which originally was formed to curb deliquency. It subsequently branched out into other areas.

An interesting development in the coordination of governmental programs, especially in metropolitan areas, is the voluntary association of governmental agencies. Regional associations such as these are sometimes made up of the heads of governments or their representatives, especially mayors of cities and towns that are contiguous. Associations so constituted are called councils of government. Although some of these councils of government eventually evolve into a governmental body with special powers for regional planning, many are simply associations held together by mutual problems and may be private, nonprofit corporations. They have two main emphases: that the local elected officials should govern the regional councils and that the regional association should be an association of existing governments. This situation has come about, in many instances, in response to a Federal government program, such as highway planning. It has also been given impetus by the need of small, local governments to obtain some voice in metropolitan affairs. Protection from citizens' groups, on which local government officials have no representation and which operate independently without reference to the local government officials, is an additional incentive.

Five critical points relating to councils of government have been noted:

1. The relationships between councils of government and other governmental units, local, state, and Federal
2. The functional role of the councils of government
3. The process of review that such councils adopt for their operation
4. The representation on councils of government
5. The role of the representatives to the council

One of the major problems is the relationship of councils of government such as these to other regional

councils. Although they may merge or coordinate with other regional governmental bodies, such as planning commissions, there is still a wide range of subjects for which other types of regional councils may be formed, without government representation. Rivalry among these groups for control of funds or for approval powers could become a major problem, as local community action program groups have learned. Another major problem concerns the type of governmental units to be represented. Special districts are often given a technical advisory role, and the main functions of the organization are carried out by elected heads of local communities or cities. Two of the major functions of organizations such as these are to provide technical services to small governmental units and to evaluate regional programs.

Metropolitan and regional organization is an extremely difficult form to create and maintain. If such a group is created by an act of the state legislature, the problem of maintenance is minimized, but the organization is also narrower in scope. One regional group may be formed to handle transportation. Another may be formed to coordinate planning. Still another may be concerned with the attraction of industry and another with the abatement of air pollution. Representation on metropolitan and regional groups and the distribution of power within the groups are major stumbling blocks to their formation and continuance. When these groups are formed, they are primarily advisory groups and have little power to act, though there are some notable exceptions. In these groups, the smallest and the weakest members must be assured that they have an equal voice with the large cities that may also be a part of the group. Any attempt on the part of the city to dominate the group is immediately questioned by satellite communities, all of which have particular problems and burdens of their own. In turn, the cities feel threatened by the suburbs. Misunderstanding within the group of the needs and purposes of each member can lead to the early demise of the group. In order to be effective, every member must have a certain strength that is gained because of membership in that group. If the

public misunderstands the purposes of the group, this can hinder participation by some governmental units. A public information program is an important part of a regional community organization.

III. THE ROLE OF THE CONSULTANT

A consultant to a community organization may play several roles. Just as there are differences in consulting styles, there are differences in consulting roles. It is not a matter of choosing one particular role exclusively over another; it is a matter of choosing proper roles for proper situations. The most commonly defined role of the community consultant is that of change agent, one who helps people bring about change in an effort to achieve desired goals. This is the role recommended by professional community organization consultants, and it is the role that is most often proposed as ideal in schools of community development. In the classic definition of this role, the change agent does not actively participate in the change; he merely serves as advisor and consultant to the group in matters pertaining to the conduct of the group and the development of leadership for decision making. In this classic definition, all decision making and action are left to the group itself without any participation by the consultant or any active guidance towards particular goals. The consultant's role, in this case, is to help the group to function in an effective, democratic manner, and this functioning will lead to the development of the group as well as of individuals within the group.

Community organization consultants provided by particular-interest agencies, such as governmental agencies, city-planning commissions, or code enforcement agencies, are often felt to be consultants in the subject matter with which the group is concerned. It

is also usually acknowledged that the consultant needs to be able to teach the group organizational skills that are largely limited to structural recommendations dealing with items such as the organizational chart and bylaws.

In the actual practice of consulting, however, functions usually merge, and the consultant fills a variety of roles skillfully to bring about the results desired by the organization sponsoring him.

The consultants themselves may perceive their role in a variety of ways. They may see themselves as enablers, as resource persons, as reinforcers of group values, as representatives of agencies, as catalysts towards action, as interveners in behalf of the community organization, as interpreters of group goals to duly constituted authorities, or as active interveners in the organization's affairs. The governmental administrator must be aware of the range of goals that may be assumed by the community organization consultant. He must be able to clarify which roles are to predominate, and, though he will not be able to control consultant activity to the extent that these are exclusive roles, he must ensure that these are the predominant roles. The administrator must make sure that the consultant's roles are not in conflict with the agency's goals and must attempt to ensure that the consultant is not compromised by the activity of his agency. The administrator should also be in such a position within the total governmental structure that he can bring any inconsistencies of governmental action to the attention of the administration and that he can clarify, interpret, and protect his consultant's activity in the community.

If the community action process is not conceived of in the same way by both the community organization consultant and the governmental administrator, there will be considerable conflict between them. This conflict will be difficult to resolve unless there is an understanding of the model of the community action process. Several models have been described in the literature, but these vary in the emphasis placed on democratic leadership, the use of power, and the role

of the consultant. The only model with which the public administrator can legitimately be concerned as a promoter of community organization is the democratic model, though he should have knowledge of others.[5]

In theory, the experts in the field view a community action process as a series of steps. Sehnert[6] has listed seven elements in the community action process: factfinding, analysis, reporting, informing, decision making, action, and evaluation. In actuality, the steps are not always consecutive, and they are not necessarily taken one at a time. Neither can the consultant entirely control the sequence in which the steps are taken. There is no one set formula that will fit all situations; different circumstances require different approaches. Regardless of the order in which the steps are taken, the results may be uniform if certain principles of ideal democratic participation are followed. These principles are as follows.

1. Problem-solving methods that include information gathering, dissemination, and discussion should be employed. Too often information gathering in community affairs is limited to items that tend to support the program to which the group is already committed. The task of channeling the information back to the people is usually left to the mass media, and there is little or no discussion outside the committee room. The so-called public hearing often provides merely a chance for citizens to "blow off steam" rather than an opportunity for an informed citizen body to weigh the pros and cons of an issue. In an article on communication, Dr. Godfrey Hochbaum states, "Programs to educate the public cannot afford to neglect the use of mass media, but neither can they afford to rely entirely on them for communication, for the mass media possess some inherent shortcomings and even risks." The administrator should attempt to influence public opinion on community affairs through public education, not through direct appeals.

2. Factfinding and information giving should be undertaken both by the citizens and by professionally trained personnel. Surveys and studies by experts are needed, but there is also a need for responsible citizens to become better informed by finding things out for themselves. Such information gathering by the citizens, under the direction of personnel competent in the field of study, can give the citizen volunteer a more critical insight into information gathering and presentation.

3. Dissemination of the information to the general public as well as to the members of the group gathering the information should be undertaken. This point is sometimes overlooked, or part of the information may be withheld if it does not appear favorable to the preconceived action of the group. Again, the mass media alone should not be relied upon; efforts should be made to fit the effective dissemination of information to the situation.

4. Discussion of the information among small groups and reporting of the discussion to the committee or originating group are necessary. Once the information has been obtained, it should be discussed in small groups. Discussions in large, formal meetings usually result in informal speeches expressing opinions. If information and issues are discussed by small groups, which report back to the larger group, everyone has an opportunity to be heard and to express a variety of reactions and opinions to the total group.

5. Decision making must be based on public involvement and public knowledge of the decisions and the manner in which they were reached. The expert survey with recommendations for action is familiar to all, and these reports gather dust on shelves of many city halls and chamber of commerce offices. These surveys, valuable as they may be, do not solve a community problem. If people have not had ample opportunity to be

involved in the discussion and decision making, the issue is ultimately defeated at the polls.

6. Testing the decisions against the reality represented by those who were not involved directly in making the decision is important. Although there is no legal provision for this in our democratic society, it is important that officials recognize the need. The public should be invited to meetings where they can ask, and have answered, questions regarding decisions. Such testing of public reaction should be built into any responsible community action program.

7. Action must be based on objective fact gathering and intelligent decision making. Information that is useful to making community decisions must be objective. The chairmen of citizen committees should not be those whose area of competence is being studied, though these persons should be available to the committees as resource people. Intelligent decisions must be based on full knowledge of the alternatives for action and the probable results of such action.

8. There must be recognition on all levels of involvement of what the action has accomplished and how this accomplishment relates to the processes already described. Those who have been working to accomplish a goal need not only to feel a sense of accomplishment but also to understand which objectives were reached and how they were reached. They must understand the method by which they reached their goals so that they may gain skills in democratic decision making and action. This is difficult to achieve because, as Adrian[8] points out, power figures in a community often assume the credit for community actions that appear to have a favorable outcome. Administrative leadership can help to make certain that adequate recognition is given to all who contribute to the program, and especially to individuals who have displayed new or formerly unused talent in community affairs.

9. Continuance of the process throughout the community is essential. Sometimes democratic procedure is used only when all other methods fail, just as authoritarian methods are used when democratic efforts fail. In order to gain insight into the value of democratic participation and to develop skills in practicing this participation, it is necessary to attempt to make intelligent democratic action work at all times.

10. There must be continuing evaluation of the use of these methods. Periodically it is necessary to examine and review the way in which an organization is operating, to determine if it is actually doing the things it says or believes it is doing. Ideas for democratic participation easily turn into formulas that become rituals devoid of the original motivation. We may help democracy work by frequently examining what we are doing and how we are doing it so that there will be improvement in participation and skill.

IV. THE DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY GROUPS

The goals of a community action group, like the goals of any human group, may be classified as ideal and real. The ideal goals are often stated explicitly in the group's bylaws and charter. These goals tend to be generalized and are related broadly to a particular field of interests, such as housing, planning, education, or health. Narrow definitions are usually avoided. The group's goals are drawn in a broad perspective so that the group's activities will not be restricted to a particular issue or event. The real goals of the group, however, are determined largely by the motivations and interests of each active member.

Usually, community organization groups, especially those of a citywide or larger orientation, comprise not only individuals interested in accelerating progress towards the group's ideal goals but also individuals interested in retarding progress towards these goals. The latter people represent not only themselves but also their particular job affiliations, geographic areas, and ethnic groups. Some may be representatives of the power structure.

This variety of representations must be recognized by the group's leaders since the membership's other allegiances will tend to fragment the energy of the group. Fragmentation of interest and action usually results in rapid deterioration and in the eventual demise of the organization. Energies of such groups can be channeled into constructive community action if they are centered on a project or symbol that has a shared meaning for the members and that fulfills

individual interest. This focusing of energies cannot be forced upon the group or community by the consultant; rather it should be encouraged to happen. The consultant must create the opportunities for the group to participate in selecting, on the basis of the members' attitudes and interests, these shared projects. The group should interact with reference to its environment rather than react to the consultant.

Evidence of the need for this interaction is found in the field of city planning, a field that has consistently produced plans for physical change, most of which are never implemented. Studies show, however, that when people of the community participate in the planning process, more practical plans may be made and implementation may be more feasible.[9]

In addition to the concrete accomplishments resulting from group participation, the membership's sense of community pride increases because it identifies itself with the community accomplishments. Plans that community groups helped formulate can lead to further learning and action by them.[10]

Obviously, not everyone will participate in a community organization. Actual participation on a sustained basis seldom exceeds 5 percent of the households of the geographic unit served—except among automatic homes associations with multiple responsibilities and common areas well designed for leisure-time use of all age groups. For each person who actively participates there are many more who are interested in the effect the organization will have on their community. In some situations, mass meetings to discuss community problems have drawn as many as 25 to 50 percent of the population. The number of single, elderly, disabled, or mentally ill persons who are incapable of, or not interested in, participating in community organization activities affects the size of mass meetings. The active core of a neighborhood group is usually made up of resident heads of families. Research indicates that urban residents participate most in voluntary associations. Members of a community organization are usually in the prime of life, married, parents, and well-educated,

are moving up in the class system, have residential stability, and enjoy high socioeconomic status. Without community organization consultants' work to motivate and help them, 78 percent of lower income, less well-educated adults join no voluntary association, according to national sample survey 367 by the National Opinion Research Center.[11]

One study of voluntary participation in planning studies in rural communities[12] indicates that almost half of the participants responded to personal invitations of community members, but only about one-quarter responded to articles in the local newspaper. In an early attempt to form a study group, invitations by planning commission members alone proved to be a rather unsuccessful recruiting procedure. Although more than one-third of those interviewed had had frequent contact with persons in the voluntary study group, almost the same number had seldom had contact with them. The large majority of volunteers had had contact with one another mostly at civic affairs meetings. Most attended the meetings for two reasons: They thought the information and discussion were important and they felt obligated to contribute what they could. The remainder participated because they enjoyed discussing planning matters with their fellow residents or because they enjoyed working with the planning staff, the implication being that this participation was as much social as civic.

In citywide, metropolitan, or regional organizations, knowledge of the power structure and its representatives is necessary to understand adequately the positions of members and the interests from which the dynamics of the group flows. Formal, academic studies of power structures usually follow one of two approaches. One is the power-elite school, which analyzes the community power structure from the standpoint of reputations for leadership. The other school analyzes community power structure from the standpoint of event analysis, that is, who prevails on community issues and why.[13] It is unlikely that any public agency will formally study the power structure, but the agency and its representatives, especially community organization consultants, will always be studying in-

formally the power relationships, from the point of view of both reputation and event analysis. The consultant, because of his position in the community, will be a participant-observer. He may obtain a good deal of information from community members about perception of leadership roles and observe shifts or attempted shifts in leadership positions. This experience may not give the consultant a precise ranking of power figures, but he may come to know who the power figures are, to what extent they may influence decisions, and in what areas their interest for influencing decisions may lie. In calculating the intentions of power figures and in evaluating the consequences of actions by power figures, the question must be asked, "Power to do what?" Time sequences, particular individuals, particular situations, and many other factors tend to limit or extend power in the community. Skill in reading and interpreting these limits and boundaries, a skill traditional to the politician, is necessary for the community consultant if he is to understand community interaction.[14]

Although the community organization's meeting may serve as an instrument for discussing public issues and undertaking some kinds of action, important decisions are usually made outside of public meetings. The community organization consultant should know where and how these decisions are made and the lines of personal communication and influence of the decision makers. He should also know how to assist the organization in bringing out in the public meetings the fact that the decisions have been made and why they were made. Such private decision making in itself is not inimical to the democratic process. The private decision comes under suspicion only when it is concealed and its motives hidden. If decisions such as these, though made privately, are given to the organization for what they are, with explanations, they then become a part of the ongoing interaction and become subjects of controversy and discussion.

V. COMMUNITY CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION

Conflict is very often an effective part of the dynamics of a community organization. Thus it is important that members be familiar with conflict in a group setting and with how conflict can be resolved. If the group tends to center on conflict rather than on the resolution of conflict, its effectiveness is rapidly lost.

A community group, to be effective, must clarify issues, disseminate accurate information, and take a position when necessary. These actions are possible only if the conflict within the organization can be resolved. The organization must be able to focus on issues, discuss them, and arrive at a consensus. The community organization must not only be able to provide for these functions but must also give satisfaction to the members in performing these functions. Leaders of these groups must be skilled in assisting members to find satisfaction in the group.

Every society has methods of resolving conflict. Sometimes these methods of conflict resolution involve the direct confrontation of the parties and their ideas. In other situations, conflict is handled by avoiding a meeting of the conflicting parties. Being able to avoid conflict when appropriate is also a part of the skill and knowledge that effective leaders must possess. Conflict is not avoided by a reluctance or a refusal to resolve the conflict. It is avoided in order to arrange a situation or a meeting in which conflict will be constructive and will lead to its effective resolution.[15] The setting for con-

flict resolution may be formal or informal; it may be a group setting or an interpersonal setting. A skilled leader learns to recognize the settings and the participation needed to resolve various kinds of conflict. Resolution of conflict does not necessarily mean that all differences are resolved or that parties or ideas are no longer in conflict. It does mean, however, that members have a better understanding, a better insight into problems, a better approach to the problem situation, and a continuing interest in resolving the conflict. Some conflicts, of course, cannot be resolved. Yet the procedure for resolution of conflict should always be available within the organization when the occasion demands.

When no conflict exists in a community organization, there is usually chaos and frustration. Too often the leaders do not accept responsibility for helping to resolve the conflict; rather they try to act as the sole arbitrators or the court of last resort. Such a role is not desirable in a democratic community organization. Responsible community organization leaders aid and provide support for procedures through which members can actively resolve their own problems.

Leaders should be able to use group discussion techniques effectively. Few people are able to participate in group discussions effectively without some training. One of the most important tasks of a community group consultant is to ensure that the group's leaders and members are trained in group discussion and problem-solving techniques. Several good manuals are available on group discussion and problem solving, including those published by the Adult Education Association. Seminars in community leadership training are offered by colleges, universities, and private organizations. This type of training should be undertaken whenever possible by serious organization members.

Two results of conflict and its proper resolution can be the clarification of the purposes of the group and a subsequent change in the purposes of the group. A community group usually focuses on some particular

problem or interest, but the focus of the group and its activities may change subtly and almost imperceptibly. Such changes can cause difficulties if they occur without the conscious knowledge of the group. This is particularly true for planning, health, or code administrators attempting to work with community groups.

Of particular interest to municipal administrators or those concerned with laws relating to housing, building codes, health, and similar police functions are the attitude of the group towards the duly constituted governmental authority and the relationship the group develops with that authority. The classical conflict of free American community organizations and duly constituted governmental authority has been epitomized in the often-repeated adage "You can't fight city hall." This saying sums up the typical attitude of many citizens towards efforts to bring about change within their duly authorized governmental authority.

The attitude of the group towards governmental authority must be clarified early. Is "city hall" to be an object of attack or is it to be the focus of cooperation? How is this attitude determined? The community organization should, first of all, educate itself in the area with which it is concerned, whether it be planning, housing codes, or a particular health problem. It should learn the ordinances and laws relating to that particular area. The officers of the organization should become acquainted with the members of the government who have responsibility in their areas of concern. They should prepare themselves thoroughly with a basic knowledge of the conditions, situations, and the legal aspects of these areas and should then sit down with the proper officials and discuss problems. These discussions and the particular action or inaction by "city hall" determine the action that the community organization should take. In its discussions with government officials, the community organization should familiarize itself with the limitations and due legal processes required by government and by the citizens in the pursuit of their particular goals. Only with proper knowledge of these

factors can they intelligently determine their attitude toward "city hall." If governmental officials give serious consideration to the community organization's ideas and goals, the organization should exhibit an attitude of cooperation and coordination. If, however, government fails to fulfill a promise, or if government cannot effectively coordinate its units so as to produce effective action, distrust arises and opposition eventually develops toward "city hall."

In addition to direct conflict between "city hall" and particular groups, there are conflicts that arise within the community to which governmental administrators must relate. If the governmental unit has a consulting relationship with a group involved in such a controversy, it must be careful to be impartial. Coleman,[16] from a number of case studies reviewed, has described four categories of conflict: economic, power or authority, cultural values and beliefs, and personal attitudes toward persons or groups in the community. A combination of these factors is also likely. It is important for the administrator, with the aid of his organization's consultants, to analyze community conflict situations in an effort to determine the possible basis for resolving the conflict. A zoning conflict, for example, involving a nonconforming use, may be aggravated by the attitudes and actions of the property holder. In such situations, the administrator may find that meeting informally with those involved results in a better conflict resolution than any number of other administrative decisions would achieve.

The possible actions of a group involved in community controversy have also been outlined by Coleman.[17] The alternatives are as follows.

1. The members identifying strongly with the group will attempt to influence other members and increase group consistency enough to allow action.

2. If action of some sort must be taken, but the group cannot take united action, cleavage of the group may result.

3. If the group can withdraw from the issue, the group may take no position.

4. If the group is divided, its members may attempt to bring the two sides in the controversy closer, so that a position consistent with member alignment will be possible.

It is imperative in such situations that the administration not take a position in the controversy, except in terms of its official actions through duly constituted procedures. The community organization consultant should actively assist in the organization's decision making within the framework of democratic procedures given in Chapter III. The administrator must not use the consultant for political purposes, because that use destroys the consultant's effectiveness in other issues and the group's faith in the administration. Although these appear to be rather simple admonitions, they can be difficult to accomplish in practice.

VI. INSTITUTIONALIZATION

A ''community organization'' in the United States can be properly classified as an institution through which citizens (as opposed to government) group together to solve their own problems or to right things they consider wrong. As mentioned in Chapter I, some governmental voluntary associations are now appearing also; however, the roles of such organizations within the institution of voluntary organization are not yet known.

In order for a particular community organization to be classified as a part of the institution of ''community organization,'' it must exhibit some regular patterns or functions that generally correspond to the image of ''community organization.''

Some organizations function in several ways, others in perhaps only one or two ways. One common function of community organizations is *dispensing information.* In this role, the community organization attempts to give accurate, factual information concerning community issues. It attempts to do this in a timely and effective way, using the methods of communication warranted by each situation. In this information-giving role, the community organization often fills the information dissemination gap of the mass media. Through diverse membership, a group may be able to reach individuals and other groups that might not ordinarily be affected by newspapers, radio, or television. Or it may be able to use methods of communication much less expensive than the mass media methods. If a community group is functioning as an information

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giver, it is important that the governmental administrators working with such a group provide it with reliable information that can be backed up if used. It is important that governmental administrators, in whom community organizations have placed their trust and with whom they are cooperating, be able to give quickly and accurately the kinds of information the community organization feels is needed.

A second common function of the community organization is *education*, a function closely related to information giving. The educational function is almost a prerequisite for the community organization members themselves if they are going to distribute accurate information. The community organization group may fulfill the educational function in many ways, since there are many subjects and skills on which it may focus. Chief among these skills are those in the area of group participation, group discussion, and group decision making. The community organization wishing to function educationally should be able to furnish, through local schools, colleges, or individuals, workshops and exercises in all the areas related to community organization. Its main concern should be to seek out and use the resources available in the community. In this regard, the governmental administrator working with the community group can often be of some service. He should know, or be able to find out, where suitable services are available and how they can be obtained.

A third common function of community organizations is *action*. "Action" does not refer to a project type of activity in which an immediate goal is to be obtained by a particular strategy. The term refers to the organization's capacity to function effectively in the manner it has determined to be best for *achieving its particular goals*. Very often a community organization may be active, may have a large membership, and may hold regular meetings and discussions, all without functioning in relation to its goals. The action role requires the organization to set into motion whatever machinery or action is necessary to attain the goals sought by the group. When a community organization is actively pursuing such goals, it becomes an actor in

community affairs and it may also become an instrument of power. It will be known by the quality of its officers, by the derivation of its membership, and by its attitude towards community affairs. As it pursues its action function, the organization will gain an identity, a personality, and a reputation in the community.

The governmental administrator must be aware of the identity, the personality, and the reputation of the community organization with which he is associating. His guidelines for working with community groups of various types of identity, personality, and reputation must be standard. This does not mean that he acts the same with all organizations: it means, rather, that his guidelines for acting are standard and defensible. Each administrator must develop his own guidelines, but they should be based on the concepts of the democratic process.

Five criteria for evaluating citizen participation in community organizations have been drawn up by Moreno.[18] These are as follows: (1) A broad base of citizen decision making in the goal formation and follow-up stages of community projects, (2) citizen representation for all segments of the community, (3) a give-and-take climate between governmental officials and citizens (groups and individuals), (4) an effective means for study and education by and for the citizen, and (5) an ongoing program and organization for continuing action programs started or contemplated. Other principles of ideal democratic participation were given in Chapter III.

Another recognized function of Community organization is that of *morale building* or of *maintaining the sense of community.*[19] This may, in some instances, be the main function of a voluntary association for community improvement. The idea that things can be improved, that a better life may be obtained, and that the past may be overcome and a new beginning made is an important basis for community organizations. Even when the situation is almost irremediable, the grouping together of people who live in proximity gives mutual support to idealized goals, even though these

goals may not be realizable in the members' lifetimes. All societies strive to maintain an ideal behavior and an ideal environment. This ideal is constantly being measured against the real, necessary compromises being made in the society to accommodate reality, which may be difficult or impossible to change.[20] A group, for example, that is striving to enforce zoning regulations and maintain its neighborhood in the manner it and the planners would like must face the reality of what a particular situation must bring. This is the reality of the nonconforming use, the zoning exception, and the spot-zoned parcel. In the face of such incongruities, and sometimes contradictions, the community organization serves as a reference group through which the sting of defeat, the harshness of reality, and the frustration of conflicting goals and interests may be shared and an effort made towards higher goals. The community organization provides a set of alternatives that the group member may come to view as expectations of what is to be encountered in real life. Similarly, the membership of the group constitutes membership in an institution that can help the member adjust to this reality.

One of the most important functions of a community organization, and the one that may determine to a large degree its stability as an institution, is that of *decision making*. Organization, particularly social organization, as Firth[21] has pointed out, involves the exercise of choice. Some degree of unification is to be expected also in organization, so that the exercise of choice or decision making will at all times test the utility and stability of the community organization. Decision making in an organization translates the differing values of the group's members into terms significant for the individual. For this reason particular skills such as group discussion, problem-solving techniques, conflict resolution, and others related to the process of decision making are important to the operation and continuance of a community organization.

VII. LEADERSHIP

Once a community organization has established a reputation giving it some prominence in the community and adding to its ability to function effectively in the community, its members must be careful that the particular role it plays is not defaulted by the group leadership's being abandoned to persons who either are not competent or have greater allegiances to other groups. When the community organization attains a position of prestige and power, it attracts many people of various kinds who are interested in power, either for themselves or for the group with which they are associated.

As an effective community group begins to wield its power, several things may happen. Leadership of the group may change; that is, the original leaders, not only the officers but also those who have given the impetus to the group through their ideas and their efforts, may be replaced by others who are interested in the power of the group, either for themselves or for other groups or individuals whom they represent. Changes such as these may occur under the old leadership. This happens when the old leadership begins to wield its new power in ways that may not be in harmony with the original purposes of the community organization. A change may occur in the membership of the organization: older members drop out after losing interest either because the old goals were attained or because new goals are substituted for those originally conceived by the participating members.

Leadership may be exercised in a variety of ways. Within any particular group, especially within ethnic groupings, some types of leadership may be favored over others. As leadership is broadly defined by leadership trainers, the word encompasses a wide variety of activities by individuals in a group. Some of these group leadership activities are as follows.

1. *Task Functions:* These activities facilitate and coordinate the group's efforts in selecting and defining a common problem and in solving the problem.
   a. *Initiating:* Proposing tasks or goals; defining a group problem; suggesting a procedure or ideas for solving a problem.
   b. *Information or opinion seeking:* Requesting facts; seeking relevant information about a group concern; asking for suggestions or ideas.
   c. *Information or opinion giving:* Offering facts; providing relevant information about group concerns; stating a belief; giving suggestions or ideas.
   d. *Clarifying or elaborating:* Interpreting or reflecting ideas and suggestions; clearing up confusions; indicating alternatives and issues before the group; giving examples.
   e. *Summarizing:* Pulling together related ideas; restating suggestions after the group has discussed them; offering a decision or conclusion for the group to accept or reject.
   f. *Consensus testing:* Sending up "trial balloons" to see if the group is nearing a conclusion; checking with the group to see how much agreement has been reached.

2. *Maintenance Functions:* These activities alter or maintain the way in which members work together and develop as a consequence loyalty to one another and to the group as a whole.
   a. *Encouraging:* Being friendly, warm, and responsive to others and to their contributions; showing regard for others by giving them an opportunity for recognition.

b. *Expressing group feelings:* Sensing feelings, moods, relationships within the group; sharing feelings with other members.

c. *Harmonizing:* Attempting to reconcile disagreements; reducing tension by "pouring oil on troubled waters;" getting people to explore their differences.

d. *Feedback:* Letting individual group members know how their actions and words are affecting one, and eliciting this information from them.

e. *Compromising:* When one's own idea or status is involved in a conflict, offering to compromise one's own position; admitting error; disciplining oneself to maintain group cohesion.

f. *Gatekeeping:* Attempting to keep communication channels open; facilitating the participation of others; suggesting procedures for sharing the discussion of group problems.

g. *Setting standards:* Expressing standards for the group to achieve; applying standards in evaluating group functioning and production.

In democratic leadership, the officers, who are in most instances thought of as "the leaders," carry out the wishes of the group. In less democratic forms of leadership, the officers are leaders in the sense that they form the policies and determine the activities of the group; the membership comprises followers who participate because they subscribe to and support the ideas, policies, and activities of the leaders.

An administrator involved with a community organization must be aware of the various leadership patterns. Although these patterns range from dictatorial to democratic, most fall somewhere between the two extremes. Within the completely democratic group, one of the main problems is that the elected leaders may not feel able to act promptly in situations requiring immediate action. This inability to act in crisis situations may create a feeling of weakness in the organization and generate a subsequent loss of confidence in both the organization and its leadership.

It is difficult for leaders, especially duly elected leaders in a community organization, to determine the particular style of leadership that should be assumed in various situations. For example, a democratic leader who attempts to let everyone participate and have his say must know when a person exercising this privilege is monopolizing conversation or discussion, even though he may be doing it constructively. At the same time, the democratic leader must recognize when someone is dominating a discussion with the full consent of the group because that person has a certain leadership ability in that situation that is conducive to attaining group goals. As situations vary, so do demands for particular types of leadership. The democratic leader must often delegate authority to particular individuals who have the ability to meet these different situations.

The dictatorial leader has the advantage of knowing what the next move will be before it is made, and hence, he has a certain strategic advantage over other groups as well as over his own membership. Although this style of leadership permits quick decisions, it is often characterized by secretive decision making and withheld information. These characteristics make it difficult for people either within or without the group to understand actions of the elected leadership. The weaknesses of this style are that ideas contrary to the leaders' ideas are not expressed and that there is often violent conflict. Conflict in such cases often centers on elected officers rather than on discussion and resolution of issues. Kreitlow, Aiton, and Torrence[22] have listed the disadvantages of authoritarian and democratic leadership, respectively, as follows.

Disadvantages of Authoritarian Leadership:

1. It often leads to dissatisfaction and rebellion.
2. It does not provide for the development of the members of the group.
3. It does not provide for perpetuation of the group.

4. It does not utilize the full resources of the group in arriving at decisions.
5. It often squelches initiative and originality on the part of the members.
6. It is costly and sometimes fatal for the leader to err.
7. It is not acceptable to highly trained persons.
8. It does not consider the worth and dignity of the individual.
9. It does not usually build morals, which is essential for loyalty to the cause.
10. It often selects leaders on the faulty basis of heredity, influence, position in the community, etc., who prove incapable of meeting the demands of leadership.

Disadvantages of Democratic Leadership:

1. It might easily lead to the monopolization of the discussions by one or two members of the group.
2. It requires more skill on the part of the leader.
3. It may allow a very vocal minority to dominate a passive majority.
4. It is sometimes difficult for people who are not accustomed to group work to accept the ideas of others, even in the light of evidence, when these ideas are opposed to their own.
5. It is not easily used when a large number of people are involved.

Note that, though it is difficult to provide for democratic participation when large numbers of people are involved, there are procedures that, when followed, ensure that every opportunity for democratic participation is presented.

Even though different situations require different styles of leadership, the basic principles of democratic participation should not be violated. Leaders have a responsibility to interpret and explain their actions to their members: the members must eventually

judge the appropriateness of the leaders' actions in crisis situations.

The community organization consultant is concerned with developing leadership skills at all levels within the organization. He is aware that different skills are required for each of the various kinds of organizations, and he must be sympathetic to various styles of leadership inherent in particular ethnic groups. Some groups, for example, one with a Germanic background, may give its leader authority and then participate only when the leader's decisions are unsatisfactory. A consultant to such a group must also know when approval has been withdrawn from the leader or the group's activities. Otherwise, the consultant may be working with a leader who has lost his following in the community, even though he has authority and is actively pursuing the organization's goals. Another type of group may enjoy discussing issues but may always put the burden of decision making and responsibility on one person whom they designate as the leader. Often, in such a group, no action or decision making will take place under the normal democratic process; rather, the group will continue aimless and endless discussions until someone who is acceptable as leader makes a decision for the group and begins to act.

A community organization consultant must also be aware of differences in skills required on different geographic levels: the differences among the neighborhood level, the citywide level, the district or metropolitan level. At the neighborhood level the consultant may have to nurture potential leaders in all communications and organizing skills; at higher levels he may have to guide developed leaders in the art of listening perceptively. As a general rule, each succeeding geographic level requires a corresponding increase in the consultant's sophistication. Knowledge of leadership styles, the leadership requirements of various situations, and the required degree of consultant intervention in those situations, will greatly enhance the effectiveness of an organization and its leaders.

VIII. ORGANIZATION FOR PLANNING AND CODE ENFORCEMENT

Standard and generally accepted procedures and principles of community organization have been established.[23] They include practices such as focusing organization activity on felt needs, giving proper representation to individuals and groups, and attempting to let everyone present his views on a particular issue. These principles have been used in forming many community groups.

Administrators of planning or code enforcement programs can effectively use community organizations to support the planning process or code enforcement activities if they know how and when to work through these organizations. Two opportunities usually exist: When a planning or code enforcement project is being considered for a particular area, and when an existing group is interested in some phase of planning or enforcement. Education for planning, a recently developed technique that can provide indirect support for programs, will also be mentioned.

The first opportunity arises when a program of planning, code enforcement, or other related activity is initially considered for a particular area. Program administrators should invite the area's institutional leaders to a meeting where the proposal is reviewed. A steering committee may be formed at this meeting or it may be formed later by the leaders. At a public meeting called by the steering committee, the program is explained, and a permanent organization consisting of steering committee members and others is formed. Many variations of this procedure are possible.

Generally, such an organization should be formed only if the agency promoting the project wishes genuinely to involve the citizens in the decision making. In order to protect the integrity and interest of the agency, the agency must first decide to what extent the organization will influence decision making and then clearly explain to the persons at the public meeting any limits on the organization's influence. The citizens must also understand that they will manage the association: the agency is not to be involved in the internal administration of the organization. If the agency advises the group on developing a community organization, it should emphasize that the consultation is advisory only and is in no way an attempt to rule the organization. These frank interpretations of roles are appreciated and are usually recognized as substantial contributions to the organization's continuance. As long as the administration and the consultant continue this limited role, their efforts will be appreciated by the organization. Any attempt to dominate the organization's program will, however, quickly lose supporters for the organization and the project.

The neighborhood organization is usually asked by the agency to focus on a particular problem or group of problems. At the same time, the agency also encourages the members to examine their community life to see if other problems should be examined.[24] Although some risk exists that the new organization will undertake a set of problems for immediate study and different from those suggested by the agency, it is a risk that must be taken. If the group sees problems of greater urgency than those of the agency, the former problems will have to be resolved before the group will give much attention to the problems that concern the agency. In one neighborhood organization, for example, a problem of bussing children long distances to school was of such immediate concern that the residents could not concentrate on any other problem. Once this problem was resolved through the school board, the group turned to the task that the agency thought needed attention. If the problem the group gives priority should become involved and dif-

ficult, another organization may be formed to work on that problem. While the second organization will take away the leaders of the original group who are most concerned with that problem, most of the members of the new organization will usually remain members of the original neighborhood organization. Through this dual membership, the original organization can concentrate on the agency's problems and still have liaison with important leaders in the community.

The second opportunity for an agency to work with a community organization occurs when an existing organization requests either aid from or a continuing relationship with the agency, or when the agency wishes to establish some relationship with the organization. Since the relationship the organization wishes to establish with the agency may be either positive or negative, the agency's staff must determine what the possibilities of the relationship may be. An organization formed on its own for certain purposes is usually aggressive and wants to deal only with the agency's chief executive. Since the chief executive has a great number of responsibilities, he delegates this task to a lower ranking staff member, usually the community organization specialist. In these situations, the relationships developed between the community organization consultant and the administration, as outlined in Chapter X, will prove especially valuable.

An alert agency administration should know when new organizations that will be active in its area of responsibility are formed. If one of these new organization seeks aid from the agency, the administration should cooperate fully. If the organization operates without reference to the agency except for formal requests or complaints, the administration should seek to establish a closer relationship. This task is again that of the community organization consultant.

Unfortunately, some organizations are formed as a reaction to an agency's project proposals. When this happens, it is usually the result of inadequate research and planning by the agency. Faced with an opposing group, the agency should ask the community

organization consultant to study the situation and the organization, including its methods of operation and its leadership structure. Through this study, the administration may determine how the organization functions, what its goals are, and how to convert the group's opposition into support. The community organization specialist serves primarily to inform the administration about agency-organization relationships and to explain how the agency can achieve a better relationship with that organization. If he establishes a relationship with the community organization, he may also serve as a community organization specialist for that organization.

Whether the agency establishes the community organization or attempts to relate to an established organization, the community consultant performs two tasks: assisting the group in community organization and interpreting the organization to the agency administration. In the former case, the sequence is consultation and then interpretation; in the latter, it is interpretation and, perhaps, consultation.

Education for planning in community organization is important. Although the concept has existed for some time, especially in self-study programs, the idea of government agencies being actively engaged in education for planning is a recent development. Research shows that groups organized to study particular community issues or to discuss community problems often produce action groups or members who assume positions of responsibility in areas studied by the groups.[25] Although it does not directly affect the agency's project, this method of encouraging interest in planning and other related problems helps generate sound support and intelligent action towards community goals, including those related to the agency's program. A recent experimental program indicated that, in smaller communities (less than 5,000), programs to educate citizens in planning could serve as springboards from which the citizens approached particular problems or a series of problems. In slightly larger cities (around 10,000), planning education provided special opportunities for individuals and

government officials to become involved in the planning process.[26]

Education is a natural activity of an agency that interprets a policy and a program. The agency realizes that the people most involved in a situation are often unaware of all of its facets. Through some form of educational activity, the agency seeks to enlarge the citizens' understanding of the real situation. The education program often covers areas such as police powers, due process of law, and the rights and responsibilities of both tenants and landlords. One municipal agency, for example, is educating people not ordinarily involved in a neighborhood organization or people not attracted to an appeal on a neighborhood or even a block basis. In this program, educator aides from the neighborhood were trained in the use of technical material and in motivation and attitude-changing techniques. These aides then called on people in their homes in an effort to help them learn more about their environment and their relationship to it.[27] As a result of the work of these educator aides (often called Health Educator Aides or Community Aides), small, informal organizations were sometimes formed. These groups help create standards that the residents attempt to meet.

Some little-practiced principles of organization also deserve mention because they have gained attention in the United States during the past few years. Some of these are antithetical to commonly accepted community organization principles. For example, membership is not considered an important part of organization practice: instead, the organization relies more on fluidity of groups than on membership. Leadership is not as important in terms of individuals and individual identity: instead, it depends on people of like views assuming leadership positions as occasions demand. This should not be construed as democratic leadership, since the ideas, actions, and goals of the group are determined exclusively by the leaders. The use of a variety of individuals in leadership positions is a technique developed to bring about action in particular situations. The goal of such an organization—and it is organization in the

sense that individuals are brought together for certain purposes—is often negative; that is, the group may not have a purpose that the community-at-large considers constructive. Organizations such as these may seek to achieve their goals by disrupting existing institutions through means such as civil disobedience, disturbances, or riots. The group hopes to achieve its positive long-range goals through activities having a negative emphasis. Since the long-range goals are general rather than specific, the group usually has little concern with how its goals are to be implemented. Such a group does not respond to attempts by officials to collaborate on solutions.

This type of organization may be considered as a pressure group having short-range negative goals and long-range positive goals. Groups of this type hope to attain their goals by applying pressure to the machinery of government and thus make it difficult or impossible for that machinery to function properly. In exchange for actions that will bring about the goals desired by these groups, they may reduce or eliminate the pressure on the governmental machinery.

These organizations operate in various ways, depending on whether they emphasize passive resistance, active disruption, or confusion. Passive resistance may take many forms. The most subtle form, and the most difficult with which to deal, is a group's refusal to use governmental services. Dealing with this form of passive resistance requires very active and disciplined efforts by the governmental administrative unit involved. Those who actively disrupt governmental functions are very often engaged in illegal activities and thus, governmental police powers must usually be invoked to deal with them. The strategy of confusion is less difficult to deal with. Those who create the confusion can usually be traced. Organizations using the tactics of confusion can be combated through the efforts of informed and motivated workers within the community. The government administrator can also combat confusion by effecting the wide dissemination of accurate information through cooperating organizations. Organized activities directed towards social disorganization can be discouraged through the co-

operation of interested neighborhood or community members, most of whom will lose as a result of the tactics of social disorganization. In many cases, the administrator can show the community's residents that the long-range goals of the social disorganization group are actually being met or that the sacrifices they are being asked to make are not consistent with the goals themselves.

IX. DEMISE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION – DISPERSAL OR REBIRTH?

Community organizations have a life-span, just as organisms do. Some of them are short lived; some are long lived, with life-spans exceeding those of their members. One study reports that, of the 120 councils existing in Michigan between 1939 and 1945, 59 percent ceased operation at some time. While 2 years was the average life of the 59 percent that disappeared, one-third of that group lasted less than 1 year. Of course, many councils continued without interruption or were revived after a period of suspended activity. The study showed that both the mortality rate and the revival rate of community council enterprises dependent on voluntary service is high.[28]

Three types of organization can be identified: traditional, *ad hoc*, and adaptive. The traditional organization is one that was formed with a particular set of goals in mind and that has, to a large extent, been able to make these goals explicit and attain them. The organization then continues to pursue them. It does not establish any other goals; rather, it attempts to do a thorough job maintaining those it has selected. An example of this type of organization is the German Turnverein, a gymnastic group, many of which were formed in this country as counterparts to their German organizations. Many of these organizations still exist after more than 100 years and still perform their original functions: To provide a place where young people and others may practice gymnastics, form teams, and compete.

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If changes occur in the characteristics of the community, the composition of the community group, or the way of life of the group, the traditional organization may no longer serve its function. Some planning groups were among the traditional organizations that faced these changes. These groups were formed in the early days of city planning to promote the concept of city planning. As city planning became an accepted function of city government, these organizations reached their zenith. As cities began, however, to implement planning through programs such as urban renewal and as the planning ideas were put into effect, these organizations were unable to undertake political activities required of citizen groups engaging in project direction and control. In such cases, the organization either changed its nature through new leaders and goals or died.

An example of an organization that changed its nature in response to new requirements is the St. Louis Metropolitan Planning Association. As this voluntary group became more and more involved in implementing planned projects, the citizen leaders gradually withdrew; they were replaced by government officials.

Changing the direction and focus of traditional groups requires effort. The most effective time to exert this effort is when the conditions that led to the birth of the group are rapidly changing. The administrator who intends to work with organizations must decide whether the disadvantages of working with a traditional organization outweigh the advantages. It may require less energy and manpower to develop a new group with new goals and structure.

The *ad hoc* organization differs from the traditional one in that it is born from an immediate need and its goal is simply to fulfill that need.[29] Members consider groups such as these temporary. Examples are a group formed to promote a bond issue and a group formed to recall elected officials.

This type of organization may develop into a permanent group of the traditional type. Very often such transformed *ad hoc* organizations serve as "watch-

dogs'' and are active only when some particular special-interest issue arises. At this time their activity, and usually their membership, expands to meet the issue.

The adaptive organization is a general-purpose organization, formed for community improvement or community development in general. The adaptive organization seeks out information on community issues and attempts to provide forums for discussion. In general, it adapts to each community need in the order they are discovered by the organization. An adaptive organization may have a long or a short life, depending on how well it is able to work with the community and how well it is able to meet the particular issues as they arise. Its greatest strengths are its diversity of interest and its broad participation. Its greatest weakness is that it may very often rise or fall on a particular community issue it attempts to meet. The adaptive organization is faced with the problem of recruiting members interested in community affairs on a general level, whereas an *ad hoc* organization can easily find members for or against a particular issue. The adaptive organization must also deal with the problem of instability: membership fluctuates as representatives of particular-interest groups enter or leave the organization as particular issues arise. Despite these handicaps, the adaptive organization can provide a solid base for community action and can very well attract people primarily interested in the general good of the community

It has been postulated that a community action organization not related in some significant way to an external organization will cease to exist after a few years.[30] There is evidence that this is true of *action* organizations. The reason for this is that most community organizations, even those supported by national parent organizations, have little financial backing and most of it is precarious. Since they have little financial power, and usually no governmental power, the power they exert must be in relation to an external agency possessing power either through finances or legislation. Most governmental organizations today possess both. Thus, very often today the

external agencies to which community organizations must relate are governmental. At the local level the governmental agency has the power to enforce laws or spend money. These are the two main areas of influence for a community organization. The exception is the small neighborhood, but even here pressure is exerted on the residents to spend money or expend work effort.

The community organization can relate meaningfully to an external agency in two ways. It can establish a working relationship with mutual understanding and exploration or interpretation of problems and programs, or it can oppose or defy the governmental agency. Some of the community organizations that now oppose or defy the governmental agency had originally attempted to establish a working relationship. If the governmental agency does not cooperate, then the community organization will probably oppose the agency and will survive or die on the basis of the success of its opposition.

Worldwide experience indicates that community organizations working for social or cultural change in a community and involving considerable expenditure of members' energy or time commitment in such a ''change'' goal—whether it be self-education, new or different health behaviors, etc.—suffer from a uniform fatigue reaction after about 3 years. Great community organization skill from a professional consultant is needed to see an organization at any geographic level through this phase. The membership attendance and even the leadership acceptance falls off otherwise in the 4th year. This is particularly so of *ad hoc* community organizations and especially of those with only one goal and few functions. It suggests that administrators and their consultants consider this time factor and try to field any particular attitude-behavior change program within a 3 year time limit.[31]

Organizations may also be characterized by the social perspective that its members share. Although not all members of a particular organization may be of the same social background, they share a certain social perspective and attitude towards life. As the members meet together, this interaction broadens their

outlook towards each other and towards persons and groups outside the organization. One of the most pronounced changes that occurs in a community affairs organization's membership is the acculturation arising from the interaction of the membership with other groups and with governmental officials. Very often, individuals achieve a new satisfaction and a new self-confidence through their experiences in community organization and thus become better able to deal with life in general. They may then leave the organization to pursue other goals that have become more important to them or to accept new job opportunities elsewhere for which their new experience qualifies them and so leave the area. This tends to disrupt the organization and, if continuity of leadership has not been an important part of the organization's activity, the organization may disband or become inoperative.

Active leadership responsibilities in community organization may have a harmful effect for persons who lack leadership experience and do not have coaching available from a consultant. They may become frustrated and disappointed; conditions can lead to withdrawal or personal disorganization or, in extreme cases, to personality disturbance.

Often an organization becomes nonfunctional because its leadership has been absorbed by other organizations, because achievement of its goals has led to complacency, or simply because of a wearing down of energy output of the organization. If this occurs, what then is the possible fate of such an organization or of the goals to which it was formally devoted? There are several possibilities. The organization may become defunct; that is, it will simply stop holding meetings and will not dissolve in any formal way. It is much better, however, to end the organizational life of a particular group by declaring it formally defunct and thereby put the community on notice that this group is no longer in existence. Another possibility is to see what other organizations are doing, to determine what their goals are, and, possibly, to merge with these organizations.

Actions such as these should not be considered degrading to the organization. Ample evidence exists to prove that organizations that have accomplished their purpose should disband or merge with another group. The organization thus maintains a certain amount of dignity and influence by acknowledging that its mission and its life are complete; it shows an awareness of other organizations, other interests, and other groups in the community. Often, mergers or cessation of activity can actually increase the community's effort by consolidating some of the activity to which so much volunteer time is devoted, and some of the larger goals that could not be obtained in the past because of fragmented community effort can now be obtained. In proposing that an organization cease its activity or merge, the leadership should have the group undertake a thorough self-appraisal of its goals, activities, and membership. If a merger is being considered, the other organization's goals, activities, and membership should also be studied to determine where the most help can be given. The results of these studies should enable the membership to vote intelligently on whether the group should cease activities or whether it should merge with another organization.

Another avenue for organizations no longer pursuing their original goals is rebirth based on new purposes. Rebirth of an organization usually requires reorganization based upon a thorough evaluation of goals and methods of attaining them. It is usually necessary to bring new leadership into the organization. An outside consultant can often provide the impetus for the rebirth of an organization and can assist members in selecting goals and methods of achieving them. There have been rebirths of chambers of commerce and of other traditional organizations that had had a strong base in the community for continued existence but that had grown weary of pursuing goals difficult to attain. Periodically, organizations such as these are reborn as they focus on new goals and achieve a new approach to their role of community development. Often the rebirth may result from a revitalization from within the organization. New members not frustrated by the

group's past failures may be inspired by an outside speaker or an outside consultant to push older members into renewing efforts to attain traditional long-range goals. Some organizations renewed in this way have achieved a large measure of success with very little resources. Success stories are common in histories of of small communities, and the literature may be consulted for examples.[32]

X. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ADMINISTRATOR TO HIS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION'S CONSULTING STAFF

Any organizational unit created to assist in community organization or development must operate within the limits explicitly or implicitly set by the originating or parent institution. In universities, colleges, and voluntary organizations the limitations are likely to be implicit, while in governmental units they are usually explicit. In either case there is a range of permissible activity within which consultants may make decisions. Although the limits of these decisions may be determined by law, tradition, or administrative edict in various institutions, they are not always immediately discernible or easily clarified. The situation is made more complex by the fact that decisions in various cases may be somewhat dependent on a wide variety of circumstances, many of which can be known only partially at the time a decision must be made.

The activities of the community organization consultant on the staff of a governmental agency require an ability to grasp a set of principles, procedures, norms, and unwritten rules that the consultant can gain only through extensive and intimate knowledge of the agency for which he works. Any community organization consultant, in order to be effective, must have a depth of knowledge about and experience with his own organization. His work will require him to make judgments and decisions in the context of social interaction, which is a much different context than exists in governmental administration. Although it is true that the decisions he makes are not related to the administration of the governmental unit, they are important

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to carrying out the activity of the governmental administration unit. Consequently, wide knowledge of that unit as well as some knowledge of other related units and of the total governmental structure is extremely important.

The consultant must be able to act intelligently when the need arises. At community organization meetings, he must be able to interject pertinent information into a discussion based on erroneous information. He must know when information is misunderstood or when misinformation is presented and attempt to counteract such a situation effectively.

In order to do this properly and maintain his level of continuity with his own administrative unit, the consultant must be able to meet frequently with his administrator to discuss in some depth the problems that arise. These meetings are often difficult to arrange because administrators have little time available to discuss problems and because there is difficulty in clarifying items between administrative units. The administrator should, however, do everything possible to ensure that the consultant has access to him on a reasonable and frequent basis and that he has access to the consultant. The emphasis on one-way communication is usually too great; that is, either the administrator communicates with the consultant or the consultant communicates with the administrator. The consultant will find it difficult to do his job effectively unless he has frequent opportunities for exchanging information, ideas, problems, and opinions with the administrator. The consultant must have confidence in the administrator. He must be assured that his conferences with the administrator are confidential and for the purpose of community organization activity only. He must know that the information will not be used in any other way.

This is important because the community consultant's activities differ from those of the administrative staff. He is not engaged in administering a governmental program or a set of governmental rules; he is involved in providing adequate and precise information, and proper consultation, guidance, and

advice in a social context of person-to-person interaction. He is under pressures different from those normally encountered in administrative work; he will occasionally make mistakes, which are inevitable in the context of human interaction. The consultant needs the confidence of his administrator so that these mistakes, as well as corrective actions taken, can be related as background to the total social-interaction context of the situation without any fear that the administrator will misuse the information.

The administrator, on his part, should expect accurate, reliable activity reports from the consultant. If he wants them in great detail, that detail will be achieved at the sacrifice of the consultant's time. The administrator should be sure that the detail is necessary for using the information effectively. The governmental administrator who successfully uses his community organization specialist knows him well. He realizes his strengths and weaknesses and makes allowances for both. The administrator who properly uses his community organization consultant has established a relationship with him based on mutual interest and respect. He attempts to achieve a genuine relationship where mutual interest can be shared and a close relationship through which normal failings and weaknesses may be recognized and discussed. The administrator should recognize that the task of the community organization specialist is difficult and that it may not be described in simple terms of success or failure. It is a continuing job that requires continuing attention. If an administrator has specific goals he wants achieved by the community organization specialist, these goals should be made explicit and a time limit established. The administrator should define the limitations of the job and provide guidance based on an examination of periodic reports. After examining these reports, the administrator should give his opinion about the value of the consultant's activities or the propriety of these activities.

A problem that often occurs for community organization consultants is the attempt by an organization's members or leaders to weaken the bond of trust between the consultant and his program administrator.

Usually as a result of a conflict in the group, a faction of the group or someone outside it approaches the top administrator or a major political figure with complaints against the consultant.

At such a time, it is important that no lack of confidence be expressed in the consultant. Officials should discuss the complaints with the consultant before they reply, unless the complaints merely require an explanation of official policy.

Complaints such as these are often made to determine whether the program administrator is susceptible to influence, persuasion, or threats. Good communications between the administrator and the consultant provide a sound basis for determining when complaints are justified and when they are not.

In regard to the authority to make decisions, the consultant may operate within the limits of two extremes. At one extreme, every decision that involves a need for clarification or interpretation of policy must be referred back to the administration. This process is slow and cumbersome, and inhibits and restricts the consultant. It is inappropriate to a field where dynamics of interpersonal relations are operating and where delays in decision making may make the client dependent on sources removed from the scene and thus retard impetus and impact. At the other extreme, the consultant has unlimited authority to make decisions that are unequivocally backed by the administration. This procedure has obvious disadvantages and will prove difficult and embarrassing for the administration.

Just as every governmental program has a set of regulations through which it obtains its objectives, so every community organization consulting service must have a set of procedures through which an understanding of its operations may be obtained and against which its activities may be measured. Community organization and community development can mean many things to many persons, but in order for a consulting service to operate, it must be clearly defined. Because of the nature of community organization consultation, it is likely that a consulting service will

include staff members with differing points of view or even differing theories of community organization. Since a staff member's point of view or theory forms the basis for his operations, the set of procedures prevents diverse, opposed, or even openly conflicting activities by consultants. The procedures are especially necessary if several consultants are working on the same project or in the same geographic area. Coordination of consulting, not only in a space-time sense but also in a logical, rational, and emotional sense, is a prime responsibility of community development administration.

In addition to using normal administrative procedures (that is, a system of assigning responsibilities with periodic opportunities for review), a community organization consulting projec may benefit by the use of other procedures, or varieties of procedures, designed to help the unit achieve operational integration in a field that is highly individualized because of individual consultants' behavior and personality. Regular administrative procedures should be examined to determine their limitations. An operation designed to intervene in social action is concerned with what is happening in regard to that intervention at all times. This is a large task, but it is necessary if the consultant is to function with any degree of knowledge of and insight into the social context in which he is working. The administrator should, therefore, be willing to meet with the consultant at odd hours when necessary and be prepared to receive phone calls at home or other places away from the office.

The consultant is also in need of someone within the staff to whom he can relate his perception and interpretation of the social action taking place. This person would normally be the supervisor to whom he reports. If the supervisor is to do an effective job, his load of consultants must be relatively small: an ideal ratio might be as low as four to one. This demand on the supervisor tends to make his workload appear small on paper, but administrators must be cautious about drawing the supervisor off to other projects, since this would diminish his usefulness to the people he is charged with supervising.

Even with a good supervisor-consultant ratio, when the consultant has ample opportunity and time for feedback and problem discussion, there is opportunity for discussion with only one person. This is not sufficient in social-action operations where so little is known and so much is intuited. In addition, any block to communication between the supervisor and the consultant, whether personal or physical, severely limits the operating effectiveness of the consultant. When blocks are present, the consultant withholds information from the supervisor and usually seeks communication elsewhere, or he relies on his own resources and simply tries to work out things to the best of his ability. In this situation, it is only a matter of time until the consultant can no longer function as a member of the staff, though he may be able to function well enough in the community. Even if there is no block to communication between the supervisor and the consultant, the consultant seeks communication elsewhere, and it is most often sought among other staff members.

In order for such in-staff communication to be supportive to the consultant, the administrator must establish an atmosphere conducive to communication. This atmosphere is more than a "my door is always open" policy, which too often means "if you can get in." The administrator cannot usually give even limited time to all field consultants, though he may encourage discussion with them on an informal basis. The goal should be open communication by all staff at all times. This ideal goal is never reached, but the administrator should try. Individuals communicate with other staff members with whom they have rapport or shared views. The goal should be, at least, limited rapport with all staff, and, certainly, communication with all staff, even if it is strained at times. Staff members should be able to communicate meaningfully with each other, even though they may be very much opposed in their views. This may sound easy on a professional level, but when it involves the content affect of social action upon which the unit bases its rationale for existence, the interpersonal dynamics

may assume much of the same nature and intensity as those expressed in social-action situations in the community.

One of the more common intrastaff conflicts is that between the community organization consultant and the technical personnel concerned with things such as physical planning, code enforcement, or engineering. The technical personnel very often do not have the skills that the community organization consultant values, and they may not see the value of these skills. Very often the technical specialist feels that the activities of the organization consultant delay the project or that they complicate the situation and cause extra work for him. Sometimes the technical specialist does not see the value of the community organization specialist until he has difficulty with the social process. Sometimes, too, the technical specialist has taken on the social-process aspect of the project along with the technical aspects. This often leads to disastrous results, though there are happy exceptions. The technical specialist who presents the greatest problem to the administrator is the one who believes that no special skill is required in dealing with people and who sets out to prove it. The administrator must attempt continuously to cross-interpret the role of the community organization specialist and the technical specialist.

Staff meetings, one of the normal devices used to bring about the desired level of communication, are often misused. To be successful, staff meetings should include staff-planned agenda, discussion of staff concerns, explanation of important administrative matters, and opportunity for feedback on administrative decision making. In brief, they should contain most of the elements found in a good information flow design. Since any one of the items mentioned may be handled superficially or ineptly at any time, mechanisms for correction must also be included. This means more than a post-meeting reaction sheet. It means using staff talents for observation and analysis.

An agenda committee may be employed to plan agendas. Committee members would attempt to determine and

accommodate the needs of the administrator and the staff and provide continuity of staff deliberations. The committee's task is to conserve the limited time available for staff meetings so that important needs may be met. This is a normal task for a community organization consulting group, but it becomes more difficult because of the involvement of the planning group in the meeting itself. It may be helpful, therefore, to appoint a new agenda-planning group for each month if meetings are held weekly. Discussion of staff concerns should follow recognized group discussion techniques. There should be an attempt to draw out a large section of ideas and concerns rather than permit only the most vocal group to determine content and direction. This means more than "giving everyone his say." It means providing an atmosphere that encourages a staff member to voice his opinion or make a contribution. In some this may be rare. In others it may be every few minutes. The task of making individual staff contributions more nearly equal resides mainly with the staff, with encouragement of the administration. It is helpful to bring in an outside training consultant occasionally to assist in gaining perspective.

Special training may be given to effect better intrastaff communication. This training will also be effective in improving the staff's ability to communicate with their clients. Special training is available in such important areas as "listening," "perception," "group discussion," and "problem solving." Special laboratory-type training sessions are also available but usually require a residence period of several weeks. These laboratory sessions are in sensitivity training but also have specialized aspects such as "community labs" and "managerial labs" and may be designed for particular needs. Although sensitivity-type training is not intended to change personalities, it may help the individual understand better his behavior and its effect on others and increase his willingness and capability to discuss difficult subjects both within staff meetings and in interpersonal relations. In itself, the training cannot accomplish much unless opportunity is

provided in the ''back home'' situation to practice and develop new skills in human communication.

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29. Murray Ross uses the term "reform orientation" in referring to these groups. See his *Case Histories in Community Organization*, Harper and Bros., N.Y., 1958, p. 5.

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31. Hanke, Loring and Krasnowiecki, pp. 244–245 and 248–249; and *Social Development in the British Colonial Territories*, Report of the Ashbridge Conference on Community Development, Colonial Office Document, London, 1954. See also occasional objectively critical comments in the United Nations Series on Community Organization and Development.

32. Franklin, Richard, ed. *Patterns of Community Development*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1966; Poston, Richard. *Small Town Renaissance*, Harper and Bros., N.Y., 1950; Ross, Murray, *Case Histories in Community Organization*, Harper and Bros., N.Y., 1953.